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It is particularly requested that all editors; 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will receive immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

### On the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

By N. Lenin.

The fourth anniversary of the 25th of October (Nov. 7th) is before us.

As we get further and further away from that great memorable day, we begin better to grasp the meaning of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and become more deeply absorbed in the practical experience of our work as a whole.

This significance and experience can be thus briefly, though not completely, summarized.

The direct and immediate task of the Russian revolution was a democratic task, namely, to do away with the remains of the middle ages, to remove them completely, to free Russia of its barbarism and its disgrace, and to loosen the great drag-chain which held it back from all culture and progress.

And we are justified in our pride that, from the point of view of its influence on the great masses, we accomplished this changing-task by far more decisively, more quickly, more boldly, more deeply, more extensively and with greater success than did the French revolution, 125 years ago.

The Anarchists as well as the petty-bourgeois democrats (i. e. the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, as Russian representatives of this international social type) have said, and are still saying, many idiotic things on the relation of the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist (i. e. proletarian) revolution. In these 4 years we have proven both our comprehension of Marxism in this question, and the accuracy with which we appraised the former revolutions. We have consummated the bourgeois-democratic revolution up to the very end, as no one else has. Conscious of what we are doing, determined and full of purpose, we are moving forward, toward the socialist revolution, knowing full well that the latter is not separated from the bourgeois-democratic revolution by a Chinese wall, and that only the struggle will decide how far (in the last analysis) we shall succeed in advancing, and which part of the ground won we must fortify. The future will show that. But even now we can see that great things have been accomplished in the field of the Socialist transformation of society—and in a ruined, weary, backward country like Russia.

Enough of the bourgeois-democratic content of our revolution, Marxists should understand what that means. Let us take a few examples as illustrations.

The bourgeois-democratic content in our revolution—that means ridding the social institutions of the country, of medieval remains, of serfdom and feudalism.

What were the most important signs and remains of bondage in Russia in 1917? Monarchy, martial-law, land ownership and exploitation, the position of women, religion and race-persecution. No matter which one of these beloved Aугean stables we consider—which, by the way, were never completely done away with by any of the revolutions which took place in the most advanced countries 125 and 250 years ago and more (1649 in England)—no matter which one of these blessings we consider, we see that we got rid of them completely. In only 10 weeks, from the 25th of October (Nov. 7th) to the dissolution of the Constituent assembly (Jan. 5, 1918) we have accomplished a thousand times as much in this field as the bourgeois democrats and liberals (Cadets), the petty-bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries) had in the 8 months of their rule.

These cowards, these gossips, these vain, conceited little Hamlets and Narcissis, had been brandishing a sword of cardboard, and did not even begin to away with the Monarchy! As no one before us, as never before us, we swept away the entire monarchistic garbage. We razed to the ground the structure of privilege, built up during centuries (the most advanced nations like England, France and Germany have not yet abolished the remains of privilege). We have destroyed the deepest roots of privilege the remainders of feudalism and serfdom in land-ownership. "It is debatable" (there are sufficient writers, Cadets, Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries abroad who can busy themselves with the question) what the "final" outcome of the Agrarian reform of the October revolution will be. We shall waste no time debating the question, for we shall decide this dispute, as well as all the other controversies growing out of it, only through a struggle. One fact is established, however, that for eight months the petty-bourgeois democrats were "negotiating" with the property owners, who still held the traditions of serfdom high, whereas we swept away the property owners and their traditions in a few weeks.

Let us take religion, or the disfranchisement of women, or the oppression and disfranchisement of non-Russian nationalities. All these are questions of the bourgeois-democratic

revolution. For eight months the petty-bourgeois democrats have done nothing but talk; not one of the most advanced countries of the world has brought these questions to a final decision in a bourgeois-democratic way. We however, actually fought and combated religion. All non-Russian nationalities received their autonomy and were given their own republics. With us in Russia there exists no such blackguardism and infamy as disfranchisement or incomplete equality of woman, revolting relics of the middle ages and of serfdom, which the greedy bourgeoisie and the stupid, intimidated petty-bourgeois of all countries of the world, without exception, are trying to restore.

All this constitutes the content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. 150 and 250 years ago, the progressive leaders of this revolution (of these revolutions rather, if we consider every national variation of the one common type separately) had promised the people to free humanity of medieval privilege, disfranchisement of woman, the privilege of this or that religion (or "religious idea", piety in general) in the state, and to do away with the suppression of the various nationalities. This they promised but did not do. They were unable to carry out their promise because of their "respect" for private property. Our proletarian revolution did not possess that cursed "respect" for that thrice damned medieval order and its holy "private property".

However, in order to secure the acquisitions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we had to go further and we did go further. We treated the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, among other things, as by-products of our most important and real proletarian-revolutionary socialistic work. "Reforms", we always said, "are a by-product of the revolutionary class-struggle". We claimed and proved by deed that, bourgeois-democratic reforms are a by-product of the proletarian, i. e., the socialist revolution. By the way, all the Kautskys, Hilferdings, Martovs, Tschernovs, Hilquits, Longuets, MacDonalds, Turatis and the other heroes of 2½ marxism could see no such correlation between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolutions. The first grows into the second; the second fortifies the actions of the first. The struggle, and only the struggle, decides how far the second succeeds in rising above the first.

The Soviet regime is the best proof or expression of the growing of one revolution into the other. The Soviet regime is the highest degree of democracy for the workers and peasants, and at the same time it signifies the break with bourgeois-democracy and the creation of a new historical type of democracy: namely, proletarian democracy—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let the dogs and swine of the dying bourgeoisie, and the petty-bourgeois democracy which is limping after it, heap curses, insults and mockery upon us because of the failures and mistakes, which we made when we first instituted the Soviet regime. Neither do we for one moment forget that we actually suffered many a failure and made many mistakes. How could such a new thing, absolutely new in the history of the world, the creation of a type heretofore non-existent, possibly be carried through without failures and mistakes. We are determined to fight to the last for the application of Soviet principles, which we know to be far from perfect. We have the right, however, to be proud, as in fact we are, of the fact that ours was the good fortune to begin the building of the Soviet state and thereby to introduce a new epoch into the world history—an epoch which sees the beginning of the supremacy of a new class which is oppressed in all capitalist countries, and which is coming into new life, and is marching to victory over the bourgeoisie to the liberation of humanity from the yoke of Capitalism and imperialistic wars.

Imperialistic wars, the international policies of high finance at present dominating the world, inevitable new imperialistic wars, the inevitable increase of national burdens, of the plundering and strangling of small, weak and backward countries by a handful of "civilized nations"—these questions have become since 1914 the cardinal issues of the entire policy of every country in the world. It is a question which has the power of life and death over untold millions of people.

That is the issue which will decide whether in the next imperialistic war, which the bourgeoisie is preparing and which is growing out of capitalism right before our eyes, 20,000,000 people will be killed (instead of the 10,000,000 killed in the war of 1914-18 and the various supplementary wars which are still going on), whether in this inevitable war (inevitable if capitalism remains), of the near future, 60,000,000 people will be maimed instead of the mere 30,000,000 maimed from 1914-18. And in the midst of such a situation our October Revolution has begun a new epoch in the history of the world.

The lackeys of the bourgeoisie—the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, the entire petit-bourgeois, so called "socialist", democracy mocked the watchword "Transform imperialist war into civil war". This watchword, however, has proven itself the only Truth—unpleasant, coarse, naked, and cruel, but still a

truth—in the darkness of the cunning chauvinistic and pacifistic betrayal. This deceit is revealed. The significance of the Brest-Litovsk peace is disclosed. Every day sees a more unsparring revelation of the significance and effects of a peace still worse than the one at Brest—the peace of Versailles. The terrible truth becomes clearer and clearer to the millions upon millions of people who are reflecting on the causes of the war of yesterday, and on the coming war of to-morrow—the imperialistic war—the imperialistic world which creates it—this hell—cannot be destroyed except by the Bolshevik struggle and the Bolshevik revolution.

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty-bourgeois, the capitalists and the philistines, let all orthodox Christians and all the knights of the 2nd and 2½ International rant as madly as they like at this revolution! No fit of anger, no denunciation or lie can hide the historical fact, that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years, the slaves have answered the war of the slaveholders with this open proclamation, "Let us turn this war of the slave-owners who are only warring for a division of booty, into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations!"

It was the first time in the course of hundreds and thousands of years that a mere motto turned from a vague and weak expectation into a clear, definite political program. It turned into an actual struggle of millions of oppressed led by the proletariat. It turned into victory for the proletariat, into a victory for the cause which seeks to abolish wars. It brought about an alliance of workers of all countries against the allied bourgeois of various nations, the bourgeoisie which decides on peace as well as war at the expense of the slaves of capital, wage-slaves, peasants and workers in general.

This first victory is not yet the decisive victory, and our October Revolution has achieved it by overcoming unprecedented difficulties and burdens, and indescribable pains, coupled with a whole series of failures and mistakes. And how could a backward, isolated nation succeed in overcoming the imperialistic attacks of the mightiest and most advanced countries of the world, without mistakes or failures! We are not afraid to acknowledge our mistakes; we shall examine them soberly, and learn to correct them. But the fact remains that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years, the promise to "answer" the slaveowners' war with a war of the slaves against any and all slaveowners, in spite of all obstacles, is actually carried out completely.

We have begun. When and how long it will take, what nation's proletariat will bring our work to a successful finish, are questions of no import. What is of importance is that the ice has been broken, the road has been cleared, the path has been pointed out.

Continue your hypocrisy, Messrs. Capitalists of every country "Defend the fatherland"; the Japanese against the Americans, the Americans against the Japanese, the French against the English, etc. Continue your prating of new "Basis Manifestos" on the tactics to be employed against imperialistic wars (patterned on the Basis manifesto of 1912), ye Knights of the 2nd and 2½ International, and pacifist petty-bourgeois and pedants of the world! The Bolshevik revolution has rescued the first one hundred million people from imperialistic wars and an imperialistic world. The revolution to come will rescue entire humanity.

Our last problem, the most important and difficult one yet to be solved, is economic reconstruction, the laying of an economic foundation for the new socialist structure to be erected in place of the old feudalism, now completely destroyed, and capitalism, half destroyed. It is in this most difficult and important work that we met with the most failures and made the most mistakes. And indeed, how could we have begun this task, without precedent in the entire world without failures or mistakes! We have begun it however. We are working on it. Just now we are correcting many of our mistakes through our "new economic policy"; we are now learning how the socialist structure can be put up without error, in a land where the small peasantry is in the majority.

Carried away by the wave of enthusiasm, after having roused first the political and then the military enthusiasm of the people, we expected to realize the same success on the economic field that we had obtained in the political and military fields. We counted upon, or perhaps it is better to say we intended without sufficient calculation to set in motion, by means of the direct command of the proletarian state, the state production and the communist method of distributing the country products of the small peasant. Life has shown us our mistake. A series of steps: State capitalism and Socialism were necessary in preparing us for the transition to Communism. This required many years of work. Not directly through enthusiasm, but with the aid of the great enthusiasm born of the revolution, the first firm bridge is being built, which, in a land of small peasantry, leads from state capitalism to socialism. In no other way can we



reach our goal, and lead millions upon millions of people to Communism.

And we, who, in the last 3 or 4 years, through the sudden changes of front (when necessary), had learned rather much, began to study the new economic policy, the new change of front, with greater zeal, attention and patience (though still not zealously, not attentively, not patiently enough). The proletarian state must become a careful, cautious and clever "proprietor", a future "wholesale dealer", otherwise it cannot enhance the economic value of the small peasant's land. Under existing conditions, side by side with the (at present) still capitalistic West, there is now no other way of reaching Communism. A wholesale dealer is as far from Communism as heaven is from earth. But this is one of the contradictions which in practice leads from the economic management of the small peasant, through State capitalism to socialism. It is individual interest which increases production. We must effect an increase in production at all costs. Wholesale trade unites millions of small peasants, absorbs them, binds them, and brings them one step forward, — i. e., to the various forms of association and unity in production proper. We have already begun the necessary alterations in our economic policy. We have already met with partial success in this field; small indeed, but incontestable nevertheless. We are only graduating from the preparatory school of this new "science". We are being promoted into the next class, determined to study with perseverance, and to check up every step through practical experience, without fearing or hesitating to start the work from the beginning again as many times as will be necessary for the finding and correcting of our errors, and a careful study of their significance. We will complete the course, though the economic and diplomatic relations of the world render it more difficult than we desired. No matter what the cost, no matter how sharp the pain, the misery, the hunger, the destruction of the transition period, we shall not lose courage, and we shall bring our work to a successful consummation.

Moscow, October 14 th, 1921.

## The October Revolution

by L. Trolzky.

In celebration of the anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia, there appeared in the "Communist International" an article of permanent value, of which the following is an excerpt.

On the occasion of the approaching anniversary of the October revolution, it would be instructive to raise a point, which has not received sufficient attention in the other reports and articles. The October uprising was set, so to speak, for a fixed date, namely, for the 25th of October (Nov. 7th), and indeed, not at secret session, but openly, before the whole population; and this successful uprising took place on the 25th of October, 1917, as was planned.

We find many revolutionary insurrections and uprisings in the history of the world. But in vain would memory search in history for a similar uprising of an oppressed class, set for and carried out on a pre-determined day, and carried out successfully. In this respect, and in many others, the October revolution stands alone and incomparable.

The seizure of power in Petrograd was to coincide with the second Soviet Congress. This "coincidence" was not a calculation of conspirators, but was the natural outgrowth of the propaganda and organisation work of our party. We demanded the transfer of power to the Soviets. The majority in the most important Soviets united under the banner of our party for this demand. Consequently, we could no longer "demand" the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets, but as the leading party of the Soviets we had to take it. We did not doubt but that the second Soviet Congress would give us a majority. Even our enemies could not possibly doubt it. With all their energy they therefore opposed the calling together of the second congress. So, for instance, Dan, at the session of the Soviet section of the Democratic Council attempted in every possible way to prevent the Soviet Congress from sitting, and when this attempt failed, he tried at least to postpone it. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries founded their opposition to the calling of the second Soviet Congress on the ground that this congress might serve as an arena for the Bolshevik attempt to seize power. We, on the other hand, insisted upon the earliest possible calling of the congress, and made no secret whatever for the very purpose of wresting the power from the hands of the Kerenski Government. In the vote of the Soviet section of the Democratic Council, Dan succeeded in having the second

Congress postponed from the 15th of the 25th of October. In this manner, the "practical" politician of Menshevism had negotiated a 10 days reprieve for fate.

At all meetings of workers and soldiers in Petrograd we discussed the question as follows: „On the 25th October, the All-Russian Soviet Congress will be called together. The Petrograd proletariat and garrison will first of all demand of the Congress that it place the question of power on the order of the day, and that it decide that from then on all power belongs to the All-Russian Soviet Congress. Should the Kerenski Government attempt to disperse the Congress, then the Petrograd garrison would pronounce its judgement“ — so ran countless resolutions.

Propaganda was carried on, day in, day out. By setting the Congress for the 25th of October, and by giving first place, in fact the only place, on the order of the day to the question of realization (not discussion but realization) of the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets, in other words, by fixing the 25th of October as the date for the revolution, we openly prepared, under the very noses of „Society“ and its „government“ the armed force for this revolution.

Closely connected with the preparations for the Congress was the question of recalling a considerable part of the garrison from Petrograd. Kerenski feared the Petrograd soldiers, and indeed with reason. He proposed to Tschermissoff, who was then in command of the Northern army, to send the unreliable regiments to the front. Tschermissoff declined, as the correspondence found after the 25th of October shows, because he considered the Petrograd garrison as „propagandized“, and therefore useless in an imperialistic war. Under pressure from Kerenski, however, who was moved by purely political motives, Tschermissoff issued the said order.

As soon as the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviets received the order to "carry out" the command ordering the removal of the troops, it became clear to us, the representatives of the proletarian opposition, that this question might in its further development become one of decided political significance. In nervous expectation of the political upheaval, which was set for the 25th of October, Kerenski attempted to disarm rebellious Petrograd. All we had to do was to oppose Kerenski's Government not only with the Workers, but with the entire garrison. First of all it was decided to create, in the form of a revolutionary committee, an organ which would investigate the military motives of the order for the removal of the Petrograd troops. In this manner there was created alongside the political representatives of the garrison—the Soldier's section of the Soviets—a revolutionary operating staff of this garrison.

The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries at once realized that an apparatus for the armed insurrection was to be created, and they declared this openly at the session of the Soviets. Although the Mensheviks had voted against the forming of a revolutionary war-committee, they now entered this body as notaries and secretaries in order to be present when the revolution took place. After they had succeeded in prolonging their political existence for 10 days, they now insured their presence at their own political death, by becoming honorary assistants.

The Congress was thus set for the 25th of October. The party, which was certain of a majority, put the problem before the congress—the seizure of power. The garrison, which refused to leave Petrograd, was mobilized for the protection of the future Soviets. The revolutionary war-committee which opposed the district-staff, was then transformed into the revolutionary staff of the Petrograd Soviets. All of this took place openly, right before the eyes of the whole of Petrograd, the Kerenski Government and the whole world—a fact which is unique.

In the meanwhile, the armed insurrection was discussed in party-circles and in the press. The discussion often rambled far from the course of events. Neither the Congress nor the removal of the garrison were brought into relation with the uprising which was considered a plot prepared by conspiracy. In reality however, the armed uprising was not only "recognized" by us, but it was also prepared for a definite moment, in which the very character of the uprising was pre-determined, at least for Petrograd, by the position of the garrison and by our attitude to the Soviet Congress.

Several comrades were skeptical about the revolution being set "according to the calendar". They thought it safer to carry it out under strict secrecy, employing the important advantages of surprise. In fact, Kerenski, expecting the uprising on the 25th of October, could have ordered new military forces for that day, and have undertaken a purging of the garrison, etc., etc.

But it was just this question of shifting the Petrograd garrison that became the deciding factor in the revolution which was being prepared for the 25th of October. It was just this attempt of Kerenski's to shift the Petrograd regiments, that was rightly regarded, as the continuation of the Korniloff outrage,

Besides, the "legalized" insurrection hypnotized the enemy. By not having carried out the order for the removal of the troops to the front, Kerenski enormously enhanced the self-consciousness of the soldiers thereby still further assuring the success of the revolution.

After the revolution of the 25th of October, the Mensheviks, Martov in particular, spoke much of the seizure of power by a small band of conspirators, behind the back of the Soviets and the working class. A greater disregard for the meaning of facts cannot be thought of! When we had set the date for the Soviet Congress at the session of the Soviet section of the Democratic Council, the Mensheviks said: "You are setting the date for the revolution". When, with an overwhelming majority of votes in the Petrograd Soviet, we had refused to send away the troops from Petrograd, the Mensheviks said: "This is the apparatus for the armed insurrection". And then, when on the day set, and with the aid of that apparatus, the prophesied revolution occurred, the same Mensheviks cried: "A handful of conspirators has consummated the revolution behind the back of the working-class". The worst that they can accuse us of, is that we had prepared a few technical details "behind the backs" of these Mensheviks who were present in the revolutionary war committee.

It is beyond the shadow of a doubt, that, at such a time, an attempt at military conspiracy, independent of the second Soviet-Congress and of the revolutionary war-committee, would have only entangled the course of events, and might even have temporarily crippled the revolution. Whereas the garrison in whose ranks there were politically unorganized regiments, would have reacted to a seizure of power by our party, by means of a conspiracy, as to something foreign, even an unfriendly act, the refusal to leave Petrograd, and the protection of the Soviet Congress which was to get full power, was for the same regiments a thing both natural and necessary. Those comrades who regarded the "fixing" of the revolution for the 25th of October, as an utopian act, seemed to have underrated the power of our political influence in Petrograd as compared with that of the Kerenski Government.

The legal revolutionary War-committee sent out its Commissars to all parts of the Petrograd garrison, and in this wise became masters of the situation. The political map of the garrison lay before our eyes. At any moment we could have effected the necessary arrangement of forces and the seizure of the strategic positions of Petrograd. The only thing that remained to be done was to prevent friction with and a possible opposition on the part of the doubtful troops, especially the cavalry regiments. This work was done excellently. At the meetings in the barracks of the individual regiments, our watchword— not to leave Petrograd before the Soviet Congress took place, and with armed forces to secure the political power in the hands of Soviets — received almost unanimous approval. On the other hand, Skobelev's and Gotz' hit of the season, namely, the planned diplomatic trip which Skobelev was to make to Paris in order there to influence Lloyd George and Clémenceau, was not only received with very little enthusiasm by the conservative Semenov regiment, but suffered a complete defeat. The majority voted for our resolution. In the "Modern" circus where the automobile drivers were meeting, our resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority. The General Quartermaster Porodolov spoke in a most obliging and conciliatory manner, but his evasive amendments were declined.

The last blow was given to the enemy in the heart of Petrograd, in the Peter and Paul fortress. Having seen the frame of mind of the garrison of the fortress, all of whom attended our meeting in the court-yard of the fortress, the assistant district commander, in a most amiable manner proposed a "discussion of means to clear up the misunderstanding". We, on our part, promised to take the necessary measures for a complete elimination of the misunderstanding. And, in a few days, the Kerenski Government, the greatest misunderstanding in the Russian Revolution, was actually cleared away.

History then turned over the page, and started the Soviet chapter.

## The Gains of the October Revolution

### I. For The Workers.

B. The October revolution set the working-class before the difficult task of restoring industry. The war had destroyed the industry of the country in enormous degree. They had to be rescued from final ruin. Hating the new politically dominant class, the bourgeoisie and the specialists sabotaged. On account of all this, the nationalization of industry and its administration became the first and most important duty of the economic

authorities. It was a mighty performance, requiring very much energy and time, and was finished only at the end of 1920. The following table gives the number of registered and of nationalized enterprises.

Industry	Total Number of Enterprises	Number of Workers	Nationalized	
			Actual Number	Per cent of total number
Stone, clay & earth . . . . .	998	187,487	445	44.5
Metal-working . . . . .	1 155	243,547	582	50.4
Wood . . . . .	242	9,984	157	64.9
Chemicals . . . . .	261	45,735	244	93.5
Food . . . . .	2 639	161,554	1 946	73.7
Animal products . . . . .	421	43,322	228	54.1
Textiles . . . . .	847	454,639	629	74.2
Paper & printing trades . . . . .	146	32,684	146	100.0
Mining & smelting . . . . .	133	91,963	127	95.5
Various . . . . .	66	6,600	43	65.1
Total	6 908	1,277,515	4 547	65.7

In spite of the gigantic war against the inner and outer enemy, which the Soviet power had to carry on, the organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy have done an enormous amount of work in the creation of the administration apparatus of nationalized industry.

### II. For the Peasants.

Of the former large estates in 32 governments, the peasants have received 85.9%, the collective agricultural communities 2.2%, and the State 11.9%.

Before the revolution the land was apportioned as follows: peasant ownership, 76.3%; large estates and State lands, 23.7%.

After the revolution the peasants owned 96.8% of the land, the collective communities 0.5%, the Soviet farms, etc. 2.7%.

In the Ukraine before the revolution: peasant ownership, 55.4%; large estates and State lands, 45.6%.

In the Ukraine after the revolution: peasant ownership, 96%; collective communities, 0.8%; Soviet farms and industrial enterprises, 3.2%.

Thus as a result of the revolution the peasants obtained the ownership of 96% of the land. The October Revolution has completely liquidated the large estates. The ground and soil belong now to the peasants.

Within the peasantry itself the conditions of land-ownership have been equalized. The number of middle and rich peasants has lessened and the number of small peasants has increased.

The partition of the large estates among the small peasants and peasants not owning land has considerably improved the position of the latter.

### III. For the Nationalities.

The victory at the front has enabled the Communists to accomplish a monumental work of organization—the re-building of the former Czarist empire on the basis of the self-determination of nations. A federation took the place of the empire. It comprises Great Russia and the following units:

I. Republics — 1. Bashkir, 2. Kirghiz, 3. Tatar, 4. Turkestan, 5. Mountain Republic, 6. Dagestan, 7. Crimea.

II. Labor Communes — 1. Karelian, 2. German Volga Commune.

III. Autonomous regions — 1. Kalmuck, 2. Tchuvas, 3. Votiak, 4. Mari, 5. Syrian, 6. Kabardin, 7. Burgat, 8. Yakut.

Apart from these components of the Russian Socialist Federation, there are these independent Soviet republics, formerly inseparable parts of Czarist Russia, and now more or less connected to the federation. The most important of these are: 1. Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, 2. Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaidjan, 3. White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, 4. Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic, 5. Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia, 6. Socialist Soviet Republic of Khiva, 7. Socialist Soviet Republic of Bokhara, 8. Democratic Republic of the Far East.

Aside from all these states the following bourgeois republics, which have concluded peace-treaties with Soviet-Russia, have been established: 1. Finland, 2. Esthonia, 3. Latvia, 4. Lithuania, 5. Poland.



# ECONOMICS

## Economic and Social Revolution.

By — — —

The present economic crisis is a crisis of capitalist world-economy itself and not a crisis within this system. It depends upon a profound deformation of the entire economic system of the world as result of the war. Its characteristic is the collapse of the capitalist world into impoverished regions — Eastern and Central Europe — and regions — America and Japan — where the means of production have grown far beyond all possible markets. The present is a crisis of over-production in the rich countries and of under-production in the poor. A liquidation of this crisis within the limits of capitalist production does not appear possible. The attempts of the impoverished Entente countries to re-establish themselves at the expense of Germany's industry fails because of this circumstance. There is no method of delivering the sums demanded in goods which does not at the same time ruin a part of French, Belgian or English industry. The other attempt to transport America's surplus means of production to the impoverished countries of Europe—Germany, Austria, Poland, etc.—by means of international credits, is frustrated by the unwillingness of the American capitalists to extend credit to these countries just because they are poor and ready for revolution.

There remains only one way for the capitalists to emerge from the crisis—the old, reliable way—to shift the burden upon the shoulders of the proletariat. This occurs in the wealthy countries in a different manner from that in which it occurs in the impoverished lands. In the wealthy countries the capitalists simply diminish production in order not to increase the stores of goods by producing more, and to be able to slowly dispose of the goods already at hand to the consumer. There results an unemployment such as has not occurred in the history of capitalism. In the United States, according to official estimates ("Economist", Chicago, July 30th), there were in the middle of summer between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 unemployed, an enormous increase over the total in January, at that time 3,473,476. In England at the present there are 2,200,000 completely unemployed. At the end of June, no less than 23.1 % of the membership of the trade-unions was out of work. The part-time workers, who number over a million, are not included in these figures. The same conditions prevail in the "rich" neutral countries (Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia) with a high foreign exchange. In these countries as well, there is an enormous number of unemployed, and at the same time a reduction in wages that far exceeds the extent of the temporary reduction in the cost of living. In connection therewith it is of some importance to remark that the fall in prices is also being made use of for the exploitation of the workers. Thus in the price curve in the United States we obtain the following figures (from the statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor):

Price-drop from the highest level till April 1921

Wholesale . . . . .	43 %
Retail . . . . .	34 %
Cost of living . . . . .	17 %

In this manner the burdens of the crisis are shifted upon the proletariat.

In the defeated countries the unemployment is very much less widespread. There the shifting takes another form, because the bourgeoisie desires to and must continue production. There wages are so low that they never keep up with increase in prices. On the other hand wages are cut still more by the state as the administrator of the bourgeoisie, directly by means of the tax on wages, indirectly by means of the ever-increasing taxation of goods that are directly or indirectly consumed by the workers—turnover tax, coal tax, tobacco, sugar and beer taxes, etc. The result is that the actual standard of living of the working-class is 33 % below the necessary existence minimum and is now 50 % of the pre-war standard. The workers are supposed to economize on the materials needed for reconstruction; the workers themselves, their families, their children. However they are to produce steadily and without remittance. In the camp of the employers and their scientific bullies there is heard more and more frequently the demand for the abolition of the eight-hour day—the only actual gain of the post-war revolutions—a demand that receives only too favorable a hearing from the ruling powers. In this manner the crippled industry of Central and Eastern Europe is to be rebuilt at the expense of the working-class.

However, will the proletariat suffer all this? The capitalist press of America records with satisfaction that the workers

are offering very little resistance to the wage reductions. The English press reports that Bolshevism could gain no ground in England during the coal-miners' strike! But we are beginning to see how England's national economy is being ruined by repeated strikes. We read that in reply to an advertisement in which a wood-yard sought several workers 4000 unemployed came from all points of the compass to apply for the jobs. We read that these unemployed, after having learned that no workers were being accepted, bombarded the warehouse with stones, and we read that several hours later the yard caught fire and was burnt to the ground, with a loss of one million sterling. Of course, the Communist party is still rather weak in England, but the situation of the workers is such that they are being driven to revolt!

And how long will the workers of Central and Eastern Europe endure their sufferings? How long will the counter-revolutionary influence of the trade-unions, of the Second and 2½ Internationals yet be able to delay the revolution in this period of capitalist crisis? How long will the workers still believe their bourgeois leaders' statement, "a liquidation of this crisis within capitalist economy is still possible", when even serious, sober bourgeois political economists no longer believe it? Walter Federn, a bourgeois political economist of the first water, writes in the "Österreichische Volkswirt" for the 26th February, 1921, as follows:

"There is no prospect that the crisis that has settled over the world will follow the course of previous crises. There may be fluctuations here and there in the course of the crisis, momentary recoveries, that may awaken hopes of recuperation, but a real recovery is impossible . . . The continuance and intensification of the economic crisis will awaken the workers of the victorious countries from their passivity. These latter will not quietly look on while their wages are being reduced because the prices of manufactured products do not allow of such production costs. They will not look quietly on while new masses of workers are continually being put out of work because of a lack of markets . . . At the end of this crisis there will occur the dissolution of this system of society, according to the course of the crisis and the temperament of the masses in one land sooner, in the other later. But everywhere the end will be the social revolution . . ."

Federn is no communist. He maintains further on in the article that the outcome of the social revolution will not be Socialism, but a return to barbarism. We, however, hope that, if the working masses quickly turn to the Communist Party and the present fluctuating state of society be succeeded in the near future by the dictatorship of the proletariat on an international scale, the erection of the new, socialist system of society will be accompanied by much less difficulty than in isolated, impoverished Russia. No relapse into barbarism, but the advance into freedom beckons to humanity. But first the struggle must be fought to a finish . . .

## Russia's new Economic Policy

by E. Varga.

Among the workers of Western Europe, the new economic policy of Russia has not been completely understood. There are even so-called revolutionary labor groups which interpret the new policy of Soviet Russia as a betrayal of the Communist cause, and which for this reason are whirling off toward the camp of the reactionary enemies of Soviet Russia. It is therefore necessary to explain the meaning of this change in our economic apparatus and to show how inevitable such a change is.

In substance the new policy consists in:

1. The abolition of the food monopoly, and its replacement by a tax in kind.
2. The surrender of some of the industries which until now were run by the state, and the leasing of the same to syndicates or private enterprises.
3. The reorganization of those industrial enterprises which are to remain under state-control, in a manner which will insure them a greater freedom of movement.

The sum total of these changes will mean a partial reduction of the State-economic field. It must be made clear to the workers of Europe why Soviet Russia could not continue to build up the Communist economy, and why its abandonment was inevitable. On the other hand it must also be made clear, in how far the necessity for this abandonment is a purely Russian one, and not, as Mensheviks of all types claim—the general impossibility of building up a Communist economy.

First of all it must be said that the Communist State-economy at the end of 1920, reached dimensions which were beyond the original intentions of the Bolsheviks, and far beyond the controlling capacity of the small Russian proletariat which

lacked organizing-ability. There are a whole series of historical documents which show that the Communist Party did not originally intend to extend the Communal State-economy to the degree it actually reached. First of all there is the fact that, in 1917, Lenin wrote a pamphlet advocating so-called State-capitalism to be conducted by private enterprises, for private use, but under State-control; a capitalism similar to the so-called War-socialism in Germany. A tax-in-kind law was prepared in 1918; but it did not come into effect.

The introduction of a State-monopoly on food, and State-control of industry, was necessitated by the organized resistance of the Bourgeoisie, and by the war. The war compelled the State to requisition all surplus from the peasantry for the supply of the fighting armies, and the workers behind those armies. The Bourgeoisie resisted, and sabotaged the production in those industries which were still in their hands, by refusing to furnish or sell goods to the State, thus forcing the State to continue the expropriation of the industries. This attitude on the part of the Bourgeoisie was motivated by the desire to weaken the Soviet state through economic difficulties, and thus to cause its fall. That is exactly why Lenin calls that economic system which was developed until the end of 1920, in the struggle against the inner and outer foes, not Communism, but War-Communism.

Because this economic system was caused by the inner and outer state of war, it could only be maintained as long as the war lasted. For, this system threw intolerable burdens upon the peasants' shoulders. Besides, this system, by appropriating the country-products, stood in direct contradiction to the actual conditions of production. In reality, the peasants of Russia are the owners of their land; they exercise private ownership. What they produce and how much, depends upon themselves. Every attempt to regulate the peasant's production against his own will must, with the existing numerical ratio, fall to the ground. There are in Russia at present half a million villages and about 30,000,000 farms. The organized state control of 30,000,000 small establishments is absolutely impossible.

Thus there arose a contradiction between the fact that the Russian peasant was a private producer, moved by private interest, and the fact that the state system of war-communism treated the same peasant as if he were a member of the communal state-economy. In other words: as private producer he independently determined the degree and the extent of production; but whether he produced much or little, the system of war-communism left him only enough to continue his husbandry and support his family.

Between private production and communal appropriation there was an impassable contradiction. What took place was a continual decrease in production, as well as in the area of cultivated land and a fall in the average yield of the crops. This system offered no inducement to the peasant to increase production. When the state of war was at an end, this contradiction in the economic field also made itself felt in the political field. The great mass of peasants expressed their dissatisfaction with the system of food-monopolisation, by the many protests and uprisings which took place in the spring of 1921. As long as the war lasted, as long as the peasants feared the reestablishment of the large landownership which was sure to follow an overthrow of the Soviet government, they yielded to the inevitable.

But as soon as they thought peace to have been secured, they refused to endure such a heavy burden any longer. Since the overwhelming majority of Russia's working population consists of peasants, the dictatorship of the proletariat could continue against the will of the peasants only by force. This would have meant a despotic dictatorship, and the suppression of the great number of working peasants, which would have rendered a dictatorship which depends upon the support of all working elements impossible. It was therefore necessary to bring the relation of production and distribution upon one and the same basis. In other words: to leave the full proceeds of the farm in the hands of the peasant, with the exception of that part which the state was to receive as tax-in-kind. The free use of his land was an inducement to the peasant to produce more. On the other hand, this change necessitated the toleration of free local-trade, since the peasants could not otherwise have exchanged their surplus for other goods.

The above explanations thus make it clear that the peasant was pleased with the change. The use of force was never found necessary. Everywhere an increase in cultivation is to be seen in the autumn-crops, and in the preparations for the spring work. Had the famine in the Volga region not occurred in the meanwhile, the good results of our new economic policy would clearly have shown themselves in the following year.

In another article we shall touch upon the changes in industry.

Petrograd, October 16, 1921.

## Soviet Russia's Recognition of the Czarist Debts.

As was to be expected, the bourgeois and socialist press has greeted the declaration of the Soviet government that it was prepared to recognize the pre-war debts of the Russian government as Communism's "declaration of bankruptcy". The history of the annulment of the Russian foreign debts is, in short, the following:

Even before the Russian revolution, all the parties represented at the Kienthal conference approved a resolution demanding the annulment of all government debts. It was not only a question of playing politics against the bourgeois classes, but, above all, the ending of the World War. To this end the annulment of debts was to be achieved by the exertion of pressure. When the Bolsheviks seized the government, they knew that, as a matter of course, they would be cut off from all foreign credit as soon as they attempted to abandon the prosecution of the war. Under these circumstances it was naturally impossible to maintain Russia's obligations to foreign countries. Thus the Soviet government was obliged to break the golden chain which bound it to the Entente in order to establish its political and economic independence. Furthermore, the debts were the subject of negotiations. The Soviet government several times declared its readiness to discuss the repayment of the old debts at a general peace conference, as for instance at the beginning of the Czechoslovak uprising. A simple calculation proved to the Soviets that it was more advantageous to pay Shylock his pound of flesh than to deliver hundreds of thousands of human lives over to him.

Of course, Russia does not owe the Entente anything, for the devastation of the White-Guard armies in Russia, that were supported by the Entente, is several hundred per cent greater than the total former Russian debt. It is not a question of the balancing of the two accounts at all, but only a question of actual power. Even if the Entente could not dispose of Russia on the battle-fields, nevertheless it is without doubt economically the more powerful, and, without the aid of the western proletariat, Russia must yield and pay this instalment as the price of further peace. The Soviet government yielded in the same way to Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and to Poland at Riga, in that it agreed to great sacrifices in order to ensure peace, so necessary for Russia.

Furthermore, the land is suffering under the frightful famine catastrophe, and the entire economic life of the nation is in danger of complete paralysis. In this circumstances, naturally no price is too high, if by the payment thereof Russia can obtain the aid of foreign countries. As is well known, the Brussels conference declined to come to the relief of the famine-stricken under the pretext that Russia does not pay its debts, and Russia must throw its declaration, that it is even ready for further sacrifices, in the face of the Entente in order to deprive the Entente of all pretexts for this attitude.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" sees in this declaration an important diplomatic move against the Entente and writes:

"It will be difficult for the French exchequer continually to recompense Russia's creditors out of the means at its disposal. As a result of this, the desire of French capitalism not to be cut off from the race for Russia's natural wealth will be strengthened through this very statement."

Time will show if the "Frankfurter Zeitung" is correct in its conclusions. At present it does not appear likely that the French government is ready to come to an understanding with the Soviets. Let socialist journals such as the "Vorwärts" and the "Freiheit" claim that the Soviet government has abandoned Communism — the bourgeois classes are of another opinion and will scarcely be inclined to agree to the complete recognition of a proletarian government. Perhaps the Soviet government will be able to get the Entente nations to again examine the question of relief for the famished. As for the rest, all depends on the further development of the proletarian movement. Through the declaration of the Soviet government the path of the revolutionary movement in France has been made more easy. The Soviet government's "breach of international law" need no longer be explained to the average man. If the West European workers are now able to set going a powerful movement for aid to Russia, it will mean the facilitating of foreign trade and the speeding-up of the reconstruction of Russia's economic forces for the Soviet government. For no illusions should be harbored concerning the friendly intentions of the bourgeois states. They will attempt to arrange a public loan and to obtain control of Russia's economic life. Negotiations between the Soviet government and the Entente have already been opened. Although the Soviet government has demonstrated its invincibility upon the battle-fields, it is doubtless weaker than the Entente economically and its position can only be strengthened by the proletarian movement of the Entente lands,



and that is of the greatest importance. It is no declaration of bankruptcy by the Soviet government; merely a retreat until the reserves of the World Revolution arrive. This declaration of the Soviet government is a new warning to the troops of the socialist revolution, the proletarians of the world:

"Russia is fighting a desperate battle — the outcome lies in the hands of the proletariat of Western Europe."

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Russian Working Woman.

E. T. The short, unglorious Kerensky regime, so rich in phrases and so poor in deeds made it clear to the workmen that their cause was lost if they did not take it into their own hands. During the short "Blossom-time" of the liberal democracy and the rule of the Mensheviks it dawned upon the women that in spite of all the phrase-mongering concerning equal rights for women, their freedom from economic and political slavery and family servitude, could only be brought about by a working-class which has attained to power. To this end, numerous working-women fought side by side with the proletarians in the October days. At first, however, the large masses of proletarian women did not understand the great upheaval. First and foremost they expected bread and freedom from the new government. However, after the end of the War, as the workers and peasants once more had to protect the acquisitions — land, management, and means of production — which they had wrested from the "lawful" possessors, in fierce struggles against the former owners and as these new wars aggravated matters instead of removing the old misery, there arose a dangerous enemy for the Soviet Power the army of women.

The unrestricted exploitation of women, the rigorous ban upon organizations and strikes, the lack of a labor-press, illiteracy and the spiritual darkness in which the workers were kept by the Czarist regime, the indissolubility of marriage, the subjugation of woman through the family, the complete absence of aid for mothers and children — all these things had set the woman back and made her unable to appreciate the full value of the social upheaval.

With a stroke of the pen the Soviet government put an end to the century-old, useless, bourgeois-liberal dispute over the superiority or inferiority of women and the granting of equal rights. In the first place it granted equal wages for equal work, and furthermore, it opened to women all government positions, even to the very highest. The workers' and peasants' government, which needed the cooperation of women, realized from the start that, for the proclamation of equal rights for women to be a living reality, all those chains must fall which check woman's freedom of movement and hinder her from making use of her new rights. Contracting of marriage as well as divorce had to be made easier. For the Russian working-women who under Czarism went from the hands of the father into those of the husband as an object devoid of will, a creature looked down upon, and even mistreated — for her, the decree which made divorce easy meant the opening of her prison, so that for the first time a living ray of light reached her from the outer world. After having been freed from the slavery of capitalism the woman had to be freed also from family duties, from household burdens, the support and bringing-up of children before she could take part unhindered in the social process. The Soviet government recognized motherhood as a social performance and took over the care of the pregnant mother, and the child. It took over the education, maintenance and training of the growing youth.

Protection of the future mother is provided for in the law which absolutely forbids night or underground-work for women and also limits woman-labor to industries where her health is not endangered. Eight weeks before and eight weeks after birth a woman need not work. In order that this shall not be felt financially she receives her full pay, and a bonus of 25% which will afford her the means for full recuperation. During nine months after the child's birth the woman works only six hours a day in which she has half an hour's rest every three hours. At the medical service-stations the pregnant woman as well as the young and inexperienced mother receive gratuitous advice as to the feeding of the child. During pregnancy the woman receives higher food-rations. She is relieved of the necessity of standing in line to obtain food, street-car and railway tickets. The woman is provided for during labor by means of confinement-institutions and mother and infant-homes of which there was a ridiculously small number in the time of the Czar. Medical aid and the assistance of the midwife and the delivery of medicaments are gratuitously at the disposal of woman. The Soviet government guarantees its aid to all children, without asking questions about the "legitimacy" of the mother or child. Many nurseries are provided where the working mother can leave her

child and thus be enabled to perform her work for the benefit of society without worry as to the fate of her child. Especially in the country, the summer-nurseries have proven to be an excellent means of combatting child-mortality which was very high. The war-orphan, the sick children, those who show a physical, moral or spiritual deficiency find a kind and helpful mainstay in the Soviet government. There are sanatoriums for consumptive or undernourished children; the forest-schools for children whose health is delicate and undermined; uniform work-schools from which the clerical and labor-hating bourgeois influence has been eradicated; gratuitous school-meals. An ever-growing number of children is sent to the summer vacation-colonies at the expense of the Soviet government, where they are lodged in the glorious villas and landed estates of the dispossessed nobles and bourgeoisie. The effect of this propaganda of the deed cannot be lost on the great masses of women uninfluenced by politics. This effect is heightened by a number of measures which free the woman from the worry of the household by the systematic establishment of food-stations, and public kitchens in which children and adults receive cooked food. All these newly-created institutions can endure and be of the people and for the people only if the women of the working people will be at their head, will control, manage and take care of them.

Woman's cooperation in the field of the nourishment of the nation has been of extraordinary value. The people's food-halls and the feeding of children are to a great extent entrusted to the care of women. About five million of the population eat in the food-halls and in this way relieve the housewife. Many are studying in specially-established courses to be educators of the children of their class and can already supplant in many positions the teachers of bourgeois origin.

Woman in Soviet Russia is taking a prominent part in the fight against ignorance and illiteracy. Through her spirited aid Communists have not only been able to successfully combat the remains of Czarism, but also to attract to this work the great masses of women and to fill them with enthusiasm for it. The working-women in Soviet Russia have entered the revolutionary tribunals, which sit in judgement upon their enemies. Many women sit in the Soviets. Of particular value is the cooperation of women in the institutions which control all organisations in the economic and political sphere.

Only through this agitation by the deed can the woman fulfill her newly-created duties, not as burdens but as highly responsible tasks. As the woman is thus freed and unburdened she understands more and more the role and significance of the Soviet power for her and her class. The former enemy and opponent of the Soviet power is now becoming an enthusiastic follower, an eager fellow-combatant against the inheritance from slavery, against mismanagement and chaos, against sickness and pestilence, a collaborator in the upbuilding of the new economic order.

Out of equal rights in the Soviet Republic grew also the equal duty for the woman as well as for the working-man to defend the Soviet Power against all enemies, from within and without. The entrance of working-women and peasant-women into the active army not only as nurses but as active combatants, becomes a necessity to which communist women are the first to submit joyfully. But even large masses of non-party women do not renounce this duty and they have performed indispensable service for the labor-republic in the defence of Petrograd, as well as in the struggle against the White Guards in the Urals, in Ukraine, in the Don region, on all the fighting fronts. They are not frightened by the hardest duties — they act as runners, dig trenches, serve the machine-guns, and by their own heroic conduct they check the fatigue which shows itself in the army or the desertion which often follows defeats. Many women-fighters have received the "Red Flag" — the highest decoration for bravery and courage. Many have been taken captive, never to return, and great is the number of women who have fallen on the battle-field for the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the cry: "Long live the Soviet Republic!" "Long live Communism!"

After four years existence, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Power are the expression of the unshakable will of millions of working men and women.

The enemy is beaten, but not yet conquered, the international bourgeoisie is lying in ambush for the opportunity to strike down Soviet Russia; in the interior, the workers have to face uninterrupted hardships and hindrances. A while ago it was the Kronstadt uprising engineered by the Mensheviks, and now it is a catastrophe of nature which seriously threatens the acquisitions of the Russian proletariat which it has won in hard combats. Out of the menaced fortress, the only bulwark of the international there are daily growing new creative forces, a living rampart surrounds it — the liberated mass of working and peasant women. The Russian proletariat is confident that it will soon be strengthened by the international proletariat through its own revolutionary struggle for power as well as its immediate economic assistance.

## HELP FOR RUSSIA

### Is it possible to aid the starving Russians through worker's contribution?

by Willy Münzenberg.

Many a worker hesitates in his aid and holds back his contribution for the starving Russians, doubting the proper application of these gifts. Many a worker fears the waste or loss of the money or gifts, which are sent all the way to the parched Russian steppes. Indeed, certain workers do not at all believe that the relief of the great number of starving Russians can be effected by the scanty collections from the workers. They are terrified by the immensity of the need and the meagerness of the possible aid. Millions of people are starving, and pennies are all they can offer to ameliorate their condition.

This way of thinking is false and works to the greatest injury and disadvantage of the relief-work in Russia.

It is true that the oppressed working-class which is itself so ruthlessly exploited, and which was so impoverished and pauperized by the war, cannot as an oppressed class gather the billions which are necessary in order to save and feed the 20 million starving Russians, and what is equally important, necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia. What the working-class can do however, in spite of its own poverty and need, is to ameliorate the still greater need of their Russian brothers, and through their gifts and contributions to help feed the hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of people who are otherwise doomed to death.

With the unpretentious feeding done by the mass-kitchens, a ridiculously small sum is necessary to furnish a day's food per person; a few marks in the low-valuta countries and a few cents in the countries with high exchange.

There are millions of workers and active people on this earth. Were each one of these millions of workers to make one fixed contribution, say a single day's wages, for the starving peasants and workers of a nation that offered pyramids of dead and rivers of blood for the suppression of war and for the victory of the proletarian class-struggle, a sum would be collected that would be sufficient to feed even millions of starving people until the new harvest . . . . .

Just because the worker cannot spare more than a cupful, it is necessary for every worker to contribute his cupful, thereby filling pails, barrels and carloads.

The idea that gifts and contributions do not reach the place intended, is false and unfounded. We have every guarantee that the contributions which are sent by the national relief-committees through the Foreign Committee for the Organization of Worker's Relief for the Starving in Russia, are applied in the best possible manner, and that relief transports are sent in the quickest possible way directly into the famine regions.

Thanks to the rigid international unity of all relief committees and organizations which are co-operating with the Foreign Committee, all advantage is taken of the situation in the valuta and world market. The purchase of food—and only food is bought for the money—is effected as follows: in the individual countries such purchases are made according to instructions from the Foreign Committee, whose business and techno-financial commissions must approve all purchases, after having examined and compared the offers and estimates of various countries.

In this wise fish and cod-liver oil are bought in Norway, sugar in Czechoslovakia, milk in Denmark or Holland, flour and rice in Argentine or, when because of the distance, impracticable, in France. Besides this, low prices are gotten whenever possible through the managing boards of individual factories, and purchases are made through the consumers leagues and co-operatives. In this manner the first large German food-transport, consisting of over 300,000 kilograms of food, was wholly transacted through the wholesale purchasing co-operatives of the German Consumers' League in Hamburg. Besides, whenever there are any representatives of the national-committees or of the trade-delegation of the Russian government in the particular country they are consulted in all purchases.

Besides the American relief ships, which were fitted out by the American working-class itself, and which carry mainly grain, the following ships and transports were dispatched in the last few weeks, from various countries either by the Foreign-Committee or under its supervision: on the 15th of October the ship „Miranda“ sailed from Stockholm with 400,000 kilograms of food; several days later a Norwegian steamer left Denmark with herring, cod-liver oil and milk; on the 15th of October the steamer „Siegfried“ left Stettin with 6 carloads of food, drugs and equi-

pment for public kitchens; several days later the steamer „Bolsh-evik“ left Hamburg with 350,000 kg. of food, mainly flour, rice, bacon, beans, etc.

The following are at present being organized: A ship carrying 1000 to 1200 tons of food, and 10 carloads of shoes, clothing, etc., which is to leave Stettin on the 7th of November; then a ship fitted out by the French committee, which is to leave Marseilles for Odessa on the 15th of November with 1,000,000 kilograms of rice and 200,000 kg. of goods.

The Northern transports are sent to Petrograd, the southern transports to Odessa. The cargos are unloaded in the Foreign-Committee's own ware-houses and are at once sent to the famine regions. There German and other workers are working together with a group of Russian workers in the kitchens of the Foreign Committee, which will be in a position to feed 45,000 to 50,000 people daily, as soon as the ships which are on the way and those that are being fitted out arrive.

It is thus provided for that the gifts and contributions made by the workers be applied in the most profitable manner to the needs of the starving people, and that, above all, the donations reach them quickly.

It depends upon the individual worker whether the gifts are small or great, whether thousands or hundreds of thousands of people are to be saved and kept alive.

There is no excuse, no evasion. Every one must understand that upon him depends the fate of millions of people, upon him depends Russia's fate and with it his own. For, as he speaks, so speak the others; as he does, so do the others.

## APPEALS

### To all the Sections of the Communist International.

During the Recruiting Week which will be staged on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, the principal slogan of the Third Congress, „Into the Masses!“, must be realized in the daily work of the party and in its entire political position, but it must not be forgotten that during this week all available forces, all energy must be concentrated on the spreading and deepening of the influence of the Communist Parties in ever increasing degree.

The period before Recruiting Week should be employed by each party in the thorough preparation of the agitation and propaganda campaign. The parties should early set their entire apparatus to work upon this task so that the Recruiting Week may bring the lessons of Communism home to hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and may convince them that the only representative of and fighter for the great historical interests of the working-class as well as the immediate improvements of its situation is the Communist Party. The Recruiting Week should become a giant powerful, recruiting campaign with the mission of strengthening the convictions of the timorous and vacillating, supplying the ranks of the party with new fighters, awakening the indifferent to revolutionary consciousness and convincing the working masses hostile to us of the justice of our aims and the possibility of realizing them. Thus will the Recruiting Week not be merely an agitation and propaganda campaign but the preparation for new battles and new victories.

Again we recommend the directions for the Recruiting Week issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the attention of all sections. These directions are to be adapted everywhere to the particular conditions prevailing. The Recruiting Week, however, is to be conducted uniformly on an international scale. In this manner as well the consciousness of International solidarity and the necessity for united international action should be aroused in the proletariat.

Soviet Russia, the pioneer of the proletarian revolution, should, at this time, also be an object of the international proletariat's care. The fourth anniversary of the proletarian revolution should be observed by the proletariat of the world in active work for Russia's sufferers. On this day all of labor's product that the exploiters do not appropriate should be given to the famished of Soviet Russia, those who were the first to venture an attack against the fortress of the system of exploitation. A day's wages for the needy champions of the revolution — this is the slogan for the 7th of November.

We call the attention of the comrades to the large quantity of propaganda material referring to this which appears in the special Recruiting Week numbers of the „International Press Correspondence“.

With Communist greetings,  
The Executive Committee of the Communist International.